

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 EUR-12  
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FM USDEL SECRETARY LAGOS  
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM FLASH  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE FLASH  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO FLASH  
AMEMBASSY CAPETOWN FLASH  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH  
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 3073

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y PARA 1 LINE 2 AND 3 INSERTION

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY)

SUBJECT: RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS

1. FOLLOWING PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY'S MEETING IN LAGOS WITH THE NIGERIANS, FRONT LINE MINISTERS AND THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER (SEE SEPTTEL), U.S. AND UK PROPOSE TO SEND GRAHAM AND LOW TO DISCUSS WITH PARTIES OUR INTENTION TO INVITE THEM TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, TO BE PRECEDED BY MEETING OF MALTA PARTICIPANTS ON "MILITARY AND ASSOCIATED ARRANGEMENTS."

2. FOLLOWING ARE INSTRUCTIONS ON APPROACHES, WITH YOUR BRITISH COLLEAGUES, TO NKOMO AND MUGABE, THE SALISBURY PARTIES, FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS, AND SAG THAT WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF GRAHAM-LOW CONSULTATIONS. (MESSAGES TO SITHOLE, MUZOREWA AND CHIRAU WOULD BE PASSED BY FCO OFFICER IN SALISBURY). FCO SENDING  
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SIMILAR INSTRUCTIONS TO BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES. PLEASE REPORT RESPONSES BY FLASH CABLES TO LAGOS, SINCE WE HOPE TO ISSUE ANNOUNCEMENT APRIL 3.

3. DO NOT, REPEAT, NO TAKE ANY ACTION UNTIL A CONFIRMING MESSAGE IS RECEIVED. WE ARE FIRST CONSULTING ON THESE INSTRUCTIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

4. FOR LUSAKA, MAPUTO, GABORONE AND DAR: PLEASE APPROACH GOVERNMENTS AT HIGHEST LEVEL AVAILABLE TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- WE ARE MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE CONTINUING EFFORTS MADE BY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS TO HELP US TO BRING ABOUT THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THAT WE ALL WISH TO SEE. WE WELCOME BOTH THE RESULTS OF THE DAR ES SALAAM SUMMIT OF MARCH 25/26 AND THE ASSURANCES OF THE NIGERIANS, TANZANIANS, ZAMBIANS AND BOTSWANANS AT LAGOS APRIL 1 MEETING THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE NOW READY TO GO MOST OF THE WAY TO MEET US ON THE ANGLO/US PROPOSALS, ESPECIALLY THOSE RELATING TO THE TRANSITION, AND THAT THEY WOULD BE READY TO ATTEND AN ALL-PARTY MEETING FOLLOWING A FURTHER BILATERAL MEETING WITH THEM TO FOLLOW UP THE MALTA TALKS.

-- WE SEE SOME ADVANTAGE IN HAVING A FURTHER MEETING ON THE SAME BASIS AS THE MALTA TALKS. BUT WE MUST EMPHASIZE THAT A MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT CANNOT STAND ON ITS OWN: OUR AIM IS TO WIDEN THE AREAS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND ESTABLISH AN ACCEPTABLE MACHINERY FOR THE OBJECTIVES THAT ARE ALREADY COMMON GROUND. WE ALSO AIM TO ACHIEVE AN END TO THE WAR. TO DO THIS WE MUST BRING ALL THE PARTIES TOGETHER. ANY MEETING WITH THE FRONT SHOULD, AS THE FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED, BE PRELIMINARY TO A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO OUR PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT, AND BELIEVE THAT THEIR PRINCIPLES PROVIDE A FAIR BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

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BUT WE CANNOT INSIST THAT THE ALL-PARTIES DISCUSSIONS BE BASED SOLELY ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. WE WOULD SEEK AT THAT MEETING TO FIND AREAS OF COMMON AGREEMENT AND TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER IN AN ACCORD THAT WOULD PRODUCE AN EARLY TRANSFER OF POWER AND A LASTING SETTLEMENT.

-- IN ORDER TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR THESE MEETINGS WE SHALL (AS PRESIDENT MACHEL SUGGESTED) BE TAKING SOUNDINGS OF THE PARTIES. WE ARE THEREFORE PROPOSING TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THAT GRAHAM AND AMBASSADOR LOW SHOULD MEET THEM IN LUSAKA OR MAPUTO, WHICHEVER IS MORE CONVENIENT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND BY NO LATER THAN APRIL 6. THIS TIMING LOOKS TO MEETING OF THE MALTA PARTICIPANTS IN MID-APRIL. GRAHAM AND LOW WOULD THEN GO ON TO SALISBURY TO DISCUSS WITH MR. SMITH AND THE NATIONALIST LEADERS THERE THE PROSPECTS FOR A MEETING WITH ALL THE PARTIES.

-- WE SHALL KEEP YOU CLOSELY INFORMED. (FOR LUSAKA AND MAPUTO, DEPENDING ON WHERE THE MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS IS HELD): IF IT WERE CONVENIENT TO THE ZAMBIAN/MOZAMBICAN GOVERNMENT, GRAHAM AND LOW WOULD BE PLEASED TO BRIEF THEM IN LUSAKA/MAPUTO. GRAHAM WOULD ALSO BE GLAD TO GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE MEETINGS TO HIGH COMMISSIONERS AND AMBASSADORS OF THE FRONT LINE STATES AND NIGERIA

EITHER IN LUSAKA/MAPUTO OR IN LONDON ON HIS RETURN, WHICHEVER THEY PREFER.

-- WE HOPE THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE US THEIR SUPPORT IN THESE RENEWED EFFORTS.

-- WE PLAN TO ISSUE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT ON APRIL 3. (SEE SEPTTEL FOR TEXT)

5. FOR LUSAKA AND MAPUTO: PLEASE CONVEY WITH BRITISH COLLEAGUE TO NKOMO AND MUGABE (UNLESS EMBASSY LAGOS REACHES LATTER IN LAGOS) FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

-- AT THE RECENT MEETINGS WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS, IN WASHINGTON  
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ON 11 MARCH AND IN LONDON ON 13 AND 14 MARCH RESPECTIVELY, DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE EXPLAINED TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THE BRITISH/US PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING WITH ALL THE PARTIES. WE NOTED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S VIEW THEN THAT IT WOULD BE RIGHT FIRST TO COMPLETE THE WORK DONE AT MALTA BY MEANS OF A FURTHER MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALONE. WE OURSELVES SEE SOME ADVANTAGE IN HAVING A FURTHER MEETING ON THE SAME BASIS AS THE MALTA TALKS, PROVIDED THERE ARE GOOD PROSPECTS OF MAKING PROGRESS AND ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WOULD BE A PRELIMINARY TO AN ALL-PARTY MEETING, ON THE LINES WE PROPOSED LAST MONTH. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO OUR PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT AND BELIEVE THAT THEIR PRINCIPLES PROVIDE A FAIR BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT WE CANNOT INSIST THAT THE ALL-PARTIES DISCUSSIONS BE BASED SOLELY ON ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. WE WOULD SEEK AT THAT MEETING TO FIND AREAS OF COMMON AGREEMENT AND TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER IN AN ACCORD THAT COULD PRODUCE AN EARLY AND GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER AND PREVENT A DEEPENING CONFLICT. FOLLOWING THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENT'S SUMMIT IN DAR ES SALAAM ON MARCH 25/26, AND AS DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS, NIGERIA, AND THE US/UK IN LAGOS, WE BELIEVE THAT THE TIME IS NOW RIPE TO HOLD THESE MEETINGS.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY LAGOS

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-- IN ORDER TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR THESE MEETINGS WE SUGGEST THAT THERE SHOULD BE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS QUITE SOON WITH THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE OTHER PARTIES. WE SUGGEST THEREFORE THAT MR. GRAHAM AND AMBASSADOR LOW SHOULD MEET THE PATRIOTIC

FRONT FOR THIS PURPOSE IN LUSAKA OR MAPUTO (WHICHEVER WOULD SUITE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BETTER) AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND BY NO LATER THAN APRIL 6. THIS TIMING LOOKS TO A MEETING OF THE MALTA PARTICIPANTS IN MID-APRIL. THE PURPOSE OF THESE CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE DATES AND SITES FOR THE MEETINGS, THEIR BASIS AND SCOPE, AND ANY OTHER MATTERS THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MAY WISH TO RAISE. IF POSSIBLE WE SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO BEGIN TO DEAL WITH SOME OF THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES OUTSTANDING, TO ENABLE RAPID PROGRESS TO BE MADE AT THE FOLLOW-UP MEETING TO MALTA.

-- WE HOPE THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS WILL BE READY TO GIVE AN IMMEDIATE AND POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSALS FOR THESE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS.

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-- WE PLAN TO ISSUE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT ON APRIL 3. (SEE SEPTTEL FOR TEXT).

6. FOR PRETORIA: IN COORDINATION WITH YOUR BRITISH COLLEAGUES PLEASE URGENTLY CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO HAWKINS, BRIEFING FOURIE SEPARATELY.

-- AT A MEETING SATURDAY AFTERNOON IN LAGOS AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF NIGERIA, ZAMBIA, AND BOTSWANA, THE AMBASSADOR OF TANZANIA AT THE UNITED NATIONS, SECRETARY VANCE AND THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LAGOS, THE FRONT LINE FOREIGN MINISTERS REPORTED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS NOW PREPARED TO ATTEND AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, AFTER A PRELIMINARY MEETING OF THE MALTA PARTICI-

PANTS. THE MEETING OF THE MALTA PARTICIPANTS WOULD DISCUSS "MILITARY AND ASSOCIATED ARRANGEMENTS" ONLY AND WOULD BE SO DESCRIBED PUBLICLY.

-- THE NIGERIANS AND FRONT LINE STATES HAVE STRONGLY ASSURED US THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL WISH TO BARGAIN ON SOME OF ITS ELEMENTS.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD.

-- IT IS IMPORTANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY WITHOUT DELAY. WE MUST MOVE NOW IN ORDER TO FIRM UP THIS APPARENT COMMITMENT BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

-- WE PROPOSE THEREFORE THAT MR. GRAHAM AND AMBASSADOR LOW SHOULD VISIT AFRICA THIS MONTH. THEY WILL MAKE CONTACT WITH THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN AN ATTEMPT TO CARRY THE PROPOSAL FORWARD, AND WOULD PROPOSE TO TRAVEL TO SALISBURY TO EXPLAIN THEIR THINKING FURTHER TO MR. SMITH, BISHOP MUZOREWA, REV. SITHOLE AND CHIEF

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CHIRAU, OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. THEY WOULD ALSO BE READY TO DISCUSS

PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR HOLDING A MEETING WITH ALL THE PARTIES, INCLUDING DATES, PLACES, ATTENDANCE AND SO ON. MR. GRAHAM AND AMBASSADOR LOW WOULD PLAN TO ARRIVE IN SALISBURY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND BY NO LATER THAN APRIL 8, IF THAT IS CONVENIENT.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL CONCERNED, AND CANNOT EMPHASIZE TOO STRONGLY THE IMPORTANCE OF YOUR MEETING WITH GRAHAM AND LOW TO DISCUSS THE PROCESS WE ENVISAGE.

-- WE NOTED THE VIEW PUT TO US THAT ANY DECISION ON AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKE COLLECTIVELY, BUT THE FOUR SIGNATORIES TO THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT, SOME DOUBTS WERE EXPRESSED ABOUT THE PROPOSAL TO HOLD AN EARLY MEETING OF THIS KIND. THE VIEW WAS ALSO EXPRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT AT SOME STAGE SUCH A MEETING MIGHT INDEED PROVE USEFUL.

-- WE ARE CONTINUING TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE FAVOR NO GROUP OVER ANOTHER. THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN PROVIDE A FAIR BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, SINCE THEY EMPHASIZE FREE ELECTIONS, A NEUTRAL

ADMINISTRATION, AND THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS AFTER

INDEPENDENCE. NEVERTHELESS, WE WILL NOT INSIST THAT THE ALL-PARTIES DISCUSSIONS BE BASED SOLELY ON THE AAP. WE WOULD SEEK AT THAT MEETING TO FIND AREAS OF COMMON AGREEMENT AND TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER IN AN ACCORD THAT COULD PREVENT A DEEPENING CONFLICT.

-- A REFUSAL BY THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT TO ATTEND AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD PLACE ON THEM THE ONUS FOR FUTURE CONFLICT AND BLOODSHED. IN THIS RESPECT, IT SHOULD BE APPARENT BY NOW THAT THERE IS NO OTHER POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING A CEASEFIRE BETWEEN THE PF AND THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES.

-- THE RHODESIAN QUESTION AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN ARE VIRTUALLY SECRET

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CERTAIN TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE NEAR FUTURE. A REFUSAL BY THE SALISBURY PARTIES TO ATTEND THE MEETING WOULD HAVE CLEAR REPERCUSSIONS ON SECURITY COUNCIL ATTITUDES.

-- A DEEPENING CONFLICT WILL GIVE THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO EXTEND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA. THIS IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF ANY OF THE RHODESIAN PARTIES, THE SAG, OTHER NATIONS IN THE AREA, THE U.S. OR THE UK. WE ALL HAVE A DEEP INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THIS SITUATION.

-- WE THEREFORE HOPE THAT YOU WILL SUPPORT THIS INITIATIVE. IF YOU CANNOT DO SO AT THIS TIME, WE ASK AT THE LEAST THAT YOU RESERVE JUDGMENT UNTIL YOU HAVE TALKED WITH GRAHAM AND LOW, AND AGREE NOW TO MEET WITH THEM.

-- WE PLAN TO ISSUE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT ON APRIL 3. (SEE SEPTTEL FOR TEXT).

7. THE BRITISH EMBASSY WILL CONVEY THE SAME MESSAGE TO WILSON IN SALISBURY, FOR THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS.

8. IN BRIEFING FOURIE, YOU MAY MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: WE ARE AT A CRUCIAL MOMENT, AND ASK THAT THE SAG USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT IN BEHALF OF PROGRESS. WE ARE ASKING THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THIS INITIATIVE - OR, AT THE LEAST, TO RESERVE JUDGMENT UNTIL THE DISCUSSIONS WITH GRAHAM AND LOW. WE BELIEVE THAT THE SAG WILL BE ACTING IN ITS INTERESTS IF IT WORKS WITH US TO BRING ALL THE PARTIES TOGETHER. THE STAKES ARE VERY HIGH, IN AVOIDING BOTH A WIDENING WAR AND A DIPLOMATIC SITUATION AT THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR ALL OF US. WE LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATION IN THE DAYS AHEAD. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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